

"THRASHING OUT" THE SOLDIER BONUS

Congressional Digest

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The Soldiers Bonus Controversy

Contributors

PRESIDENT HARDING AND SECRETARY MELLON

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HANFORD MACNIDER, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF AMERICAN LEGION

U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE *vs.* AMERICAN LEGION

U. S. SENATORS

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U. S. REPRESENTATIVES

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Bonus Legislation

IN AMERICAN HISTORY—IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—IN 48 STATES

WILL BONUS REQUIRE SPECIAL TAXATION? YES AND NO

UNITED STATES EXPENDITURES FOR WORLD WAR VETERANS

The Farm Bloc Program of Senate and House

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—NEXT MONTH—

New American Merchant Marine Bill
 and
 What Women are Watching in Congress

Legislative Programs of National Organizations Comprising the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

General Federation of Women's Clubs.	National League of Women Voters.
American Association of University Women.	National Consumers League.
National Congress of Mother and Parent-Teacher Associations.	National Council of Women.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women.	National Council of Jewish Women.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.	National Women's Trade Union League.
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.	Service Star Legion.
American Home Economics Association.	Girls Friendly Society in America.

Coming—A Political Number

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

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ALICE GRAM, Editor

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The 67th Congress

Convened April 11, 1921, will expire March 4, 1923. First session adjourned November 23, 1921. Second session convened December 5, 1921, still in session. Third session will convene first Monday in December, 1922.

IN THE SENATE

96 members

60 Republicans 36 Democrats

PRESIDING OFFICER

Vice-President Calvin C. Coolidge of Mass., Republican.

FLOOR LEADERS

Majority Leader
Henry C. Lodge, Mass., Rep.

Minority Leader
Oscar Underwood, Ala., Dem.

PARTY WHIPS

Republican
Charles Curtis, Kan.

Democratic
Peter G. Gerry, R. I.

IN THE HOUSE

435 Members

300 Republicans 131 Democrats
1 Socialist 3 Vacancies

PRESIDING OFFICER

Speaker Frederick H. Gillett of Mass., Republican

FLOOR LEADERS

Majority Leader
Frank W. Mondell, Wyo., Rep.

Republican
Harold Knutson, Minn.

Minority Leader
Claude Kitchin, N. C., Dem.

Democratic
William A. Oldfield, Ark.

The Steering Committee Program

The following program of legislation represents the leading issues before Congress which are scheduled for action before this session adjourns. This program is formulated by the Steering Committees of the Senate and House, which are composed of leading members of the Republican party, the majority party in control of this Congress.

Status of Bills Comprising Steering Committee Program

ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS

ALL of the annual appropriation bills (11 regular appropriation bills and 2 deficiency appropriations) have been passed by the House, and seven have become laws. The conference reports on the Post Office, Independent Offices and District of Columbia bills have not yet been agreed to. On May 25th the Senate Appropriation Committee authorized the War Department Bill, H. R. 10871, to be reported, which leaves only the Navy Department Bill, H. R. 11228, to be disposed of by the Senate Committee.

SOLDIER BONUS

The Fordney bill to adjust compensation for World War Veterans, H. R. 10874, passed the House on March 23, 1922. The Senate Finance Committee, which has the bill under consideration, expects to report the bill with a number of changes the first week in June. (See pages 5-15 for full discussion.)

MERCHANT MARINE

Joint hearings on the Jones-Greene bills, S. 3217 and H. R. 10644, which carry President Harding's recommendations for building up the American Merchant Marine, were held from April 4 to May 19 before the Senate Committee on Commerce and the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. As soon as the bills are reported effort will be made in both houses to pass them before adjournment.

RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS

The McNary-Smith bills, S. 3254 and H. R. 10614, "To encourage the development of the agricultural resources of the United States through Federal and State co-operation, giving preference in the matter of employment and the establishment of rural homes to those who have served with the Military and Naval forces of the United States," have both been reported favorably by their respective committee and taken their place on the calendars of the Senate and House. Action by the Senate is expected by the friends of the measure immediately following the passage of the Tariff bill. Since these bills are designed to give preference rights of entry to the soldiers, they hold an important relation to the land settlement provisions of the soldier bonus bill.

TARIFF REVISION

The Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill, H. R. 7456, passed the House on July 21, 1921, was reported to the Senate by the Senate Finance Committee on April 11th, and was made the unfinished business of the Senate on April 20th. About 150 of the 2,008 amendments attached to the bill have been agreed to date. On May 25th the Republicans, in conference, adopted unanimously a resolution compelling all Republican Senators whose health will permit to attend the consecutive sessions of the Senate. This will speed up action on the Tariff bill in accord with an effort to pass it by July 1st.

RECLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The Sterling-Lehlbach Reclassification bill, H. R. 8928, which passed the House on December 15, 1921, was reported to the Senate on February 6 by the Senate Committee on Civil Service and referred to the Senate Committee on Appropriations for consideration of the salary schedules. Action by that committee has been delayed owing to the work required by the annual appropriation bills. With only the Navy bill left to be disposed of, a sub-committee will probably be appointed this week to begin work on the reclassification measure. Some action by the committee will no doubt be taken before the end of June in view of the expiration on June 30 of the appropriation for the government employees' bonus, which the reclassification bill will supplant.

REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

The Joint Committee on the Reorganization of the Government Departments was established by an act of Congress last spring. It is composed of three Senators and three Representatives appointed by the presiding officer of the Senate and House and an appointee of the President's, Walter F. Brown. The preliminary report made to the President by the Chairman of the Committee is still in the hands of the President, where it is having the additional attention of the Cabinet Members whose Departments are affected by the proposed changes. As soon as the President's recommendations are received the Committee will hold public hearings prior to drafting a bill for Congressional action.

The Farm Bloc

Purpose

Senator Capper, Kansas, Chairman, Senate Farm Bloc

"The enactment of constructive wholesome progressive legislation in which agriculture occupies a leading though not necessarily an exclusive position, is the mission of the so-called 'farm bloc.' Its purposes are economic rather than political. Therefore it is able to work as a unit with Democrats and Republicans acting together for the common good. It is out to get a square deal for American agriculture and a solid footing through constructive legislation for the American farmer."

Representative Dickinson, Iowa, Chairman, House Farm Bloc

"This movement in behalf of agriculture is not a selfish one. The purpose is to eliminate expense between the producer and the consumer, and decrease the cost accordingly. If the 'agricultural bloc' in Congress shall carry out its program to stabilize food production, economize transportation, minimize market machinery, liberalize commodity financing, equalize export demands, and harmonize the different sections of the country accordingly, its influence and action will inure to the benefit of our entire citizenship."

Program

I. Reduction in freight rates and restoration of power to State railway commissions.

Bills—1, S. 1150 (Capper) *To amend the Act to Regulate Commerce.* Referred to Committee on Interstate Commerce. Hearings held. Committee report not expected this session.

2, H. R. 8131 (Hoch) *To amend the Interstate Commerce Act.* Referred to Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Hung up in Committee.

II. Development of Muscle Shoals project.

Bills—1, Proposed amendment to War Department Appropriation Bill (H. R. 10871) *Providing \$7,500,000 to complete the Wilson dam.* Pending in Senate.

2, S. 3420 (Norris) *To provide for the development of Muscle Shoals project by the Government.* Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture where hearings are in process.

3, H. Doc. 167—*The Henry Ford Muscle Shoals offer.* Proposal transmitted to Congress by the War Department, February 1, 1922. Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, and to Senate Committee on Agriculture.

4, H. Doc. No. 192—*Offer of Alabama Power Company to complete Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals.* Transmitted to Congress by War Department, February 21, 1922. Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, and to Senate Committee on Agriculture.

5, H. Doc. No. 192—*Offer of Frederick E. Engstrum for the Muscle Shoals Properties.* Transmitted to Congress by War Department, February 24, 1921. Referred to House Military Affairs Committee, and to Senate Committee on Agriculture.

6, H. Doc. 220—*Offer of Chas. L. Parsons for certain properties at Muscle Shoals.* Transmitted to Congress by War Department, April 4, 1922. Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, and to Senate Committee on Agriculture.

The House Committee on Military Affairs has been holding executive sessions for the past two months and expects to make its report on the Muscle Shoals project the first week in June.

III. Truth in Fabrics.

Bills—1, S. 799 (Capper)—*To prevent deceit and unfair prices that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven fabrics purporting to contain wool and in garments or articles of apparel made therefrom, etc.* Referred to Committee on Interstate Commerce. Hearings held. No further action. In hands of sub-committee composed of Senators Watson (Indiana), Fernald (Me.) and Smith (S. Car.)

2, H. R. 64 (French)—*Same as S. 799.* Referred to Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Hearings held. No further action.

IV. Credit Reform. To provide a credit plan which will give relief to agriculture.

Bills. Many bills have been introduced in both houses during this Congress, embodying such legislation but the "bloc" has not yet singled out the measure to be pressed and it is doubtful if such a measure will be passed this session. The "bloc" has placed the matter in the hands of a special "Farm Credit Committee" with Senator Capper as chairman.

V. Adequate protection for farm products.

Bill H. R. 7456—*The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill.* The agriculture interests in the bill have been placed by the Senate "bloc" in the hands of a special committee known as the "Farm Tariff Group" with Senator Gooding of Idaho as chairman.

VI. To extend the powers of the War Finance Corporation until July 1, 1923.

Bill S. 2775 (McNary)—Passed the Senate, May 1, 1922. Reported from House Committee on Banking and Currency May 5, 1922. Pending action in House.

VII. The stopping of further issuance of tax-exempt securities by the Federal or State governments.

Bill H. J. Res. 314 (Greene, Iowa)—An amendment to the Constitution. Referred to Committee on Ways and Means. Hearings held. Reported May 3. Expected to pass House this session.

VIII. Fixing standards of size of containers for vegetables, fruits, etc.

Bill H. R. 7102 (Vestal)—Referred to Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures. Reported May 16, 1921. Expects to pass House on next call of the committee.

IX. To prohibit the sale of milk from which the butter fat has been removed and for which vegetable oil has been substituted as an article of food.

Bill H. R. 8086 (Voigt)—Known as "Filled-milk Bill." Passed House, May 25, 1922. Pending action by Senate Committee on Agriculture.

Membership

In the Senate

Republicans

Arthur Capper, Kansas, Chairman, Senate Farm Bloc.

Frank R. Gooding, Idaho, Chairman, Senate Farm Tariff Group.

George W. Norris, Nebr., Chairman, Senate Agriculture Committee.

Charles L. McNary, Ore.

Peter Norbeck, S. Dak.

John W. Harrel, Okla.

Robert M. LaFollette, Wis.

Edwin F. Ladd, N. Dak.

Wesley L. Jones, Wash.

Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisc.

Frank B. Kellogg, Minn.

Robt. N. Stanfield, Ore.

Thomas Sterling, S. Dak.

Holm O. Barsum, N. Mex.

Democrats

Ellison D. Smith, S. Car.

John B. Kendrick, Wyo.

Joseph E. Ransdell, La.

Duncan U. Fletcher, Fla.

Morris Sheppard, Tex.

J. Thomas Heflin, Ala.

Andrius A. Jones, N. Mex.

William J. Harris, Ga.

Henry F. Ashurst, Ariz.

Nathaniel B. Dial, S. Car.

Claude A. Swanson, Va.

Pat Harrison, Miss.

In the House

The House Farm Bloc has no definite membership. Its organization consists of a "key" agricultural representative from each state whose responsibility it is to line up his state delegation whenever the farm bloc bills are up for consideration. Rep. L. J. Dickinson, of Iowa, is chairman of this quasi-organization.

The Bonus Issue in American History

The Revolutionary War

IN 1778 was enacted by the Continental Congress that all commissioned officers "shall, after the conclusion of the war, be entitled to receive annually, for the term of seven years, if they live so long, one-half of the present pay of such officers," and non-commissioned officers "shall be entitled to receive the further reward of \$80 at the expiration of the war." In 1779 it was enacted that "Gen. Washington be empowered to order a gratuity of \$100 each" to be paid to persons who had enlisted before January, 1779. This differed from the several bounties offered during the war in that it was for past services instead of a premium paid for enlistment. Officers dismissed as supernumeraries were entitled to a year's pay, under a resolution of 1778. A further provision was made in 1780 for half pay during life to all officers continuing in service to the end of the war.

Three years later the question of supplemental pay, which we are now terming "adjusted compensation" became a very burning question in the ranks of the revolutionary army. The various laws enacted had proved to be largely paper legislation for lack of funds to comply with their terms. Anonymous letters were circulated in the army, mutiny was threatened and a clandestine meeting was called. On news of the situation reaching Washington's ears he adroitly turned the meeting into an official one, stemmed the rising tide of dissension in the ranks and on his request the meeting culminated in a petition to Congress which resulted in the resolution of March 22, 1783, rescinding the provision for half pay for life with which the army was dissatisfied and providing that officers who should continue in service to the end of the war should receive "the amount of five years' full pay in money, or securities on interest at six per centum, as Congress shall find most convenient." This act brought a storm of protest from the civilian population and petitions that it be repealed from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. The committee called upon to report and recommend concerning these petitions concluded "that if the objections against the commutation were ever

so valid, yet as it is not now under the arbitration of Congress, but an act finally adopted, and the national faith pledged to carry it into effect, they could not be taken into consideration."

The War of 1812

There was apparently no comparable legislation for veterans of the war of 1812. Numerous provisions were made for land grants and a part of the enlistment bounties paid were not payable until the termination of service.

The Mexican War

Persons serving in the Mexican War for a year or more were entitled to receive "a treasury scrip for \$100, and such scrip whenever it is preferred [to a grant of lands] shall be issued by the Secretary of the Treasury to such person or persons as would be authorized to receive such certificates of warrants for lands; said scrip to bear an interest of six per centum per annum, payable semi-annually, redeemable at the pleasure of the government." Persons serving less than a year were entitled to \$25.

Civil War

Honorably discharged soldiers of the Civil War who had served for three years were granted a cash payment of \$100, and those serving not less than two years were granted \$50. This was known as an "additional bounty" and was considered a payment in addition to the enlistment bounty previously granted.

Philippine War

There was apparently no similar grant to veterans of the Spanish war. In some cases the amounts paid to the states as adjusted claims against the Federal government were repaid to the soldiers by the states.

1783

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

Pro

Controversy of 1783, in adjustment of inadequate pay to soldiers of the Revolution

To the Continental Congress:

"If, besides the simple payment of their wages, a further compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice and built opinion on the basis of error, if this country should not in the event perform everything which has been requested in the late memorial to Congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited void of foundation. And if (as has been suggested for the purpose of inflaming their passions) the officers of the army are to be the only sufferers by this revolution; if retiring from the field they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt; if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor, then shall I have learned what ingratitude is, then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my life."

1875

PRESIDENT U. S. GRANT

Con

"An act to equalize the bounties of soldiers who served in the late war for the Union."

To the House of Representatives:

"House bill No. 3341 is herewith returned without approval, for the reasons, first, that it appropriates from the Treasury a large sum of money at a time when the revenue is insufficient for current wants and this proposed further drain on the Treasury. The issue of bonds, authorized by the bill to a very large and indefinite amount, would seriously embarrass the refunding operations now progressing, whereby the interest of the bonded debt of the United States is being largely reduced. Second, I do not believe that any considerable portion of the ex-soldiers who, it is supposed, will be beneficiaries of this appropriation, are applicants for it, but, rather, it would result more in a measure for the relief of claim agents and middlemen who would intervene to collect or discount the bounties granted by it. The passage of this bill at this time is inconsistent with the measures of economy now demanded by the necessities of the country."

Pocket veto. This message was written in the President's room at the Capitol on March 3, 1875, but failed to reach the House of Representatives before final adjournment.

The Bonus Issue Following World War

Action Taken by Foreign Governments

GREAT BRITAIN

THE British Army gratuity or bonus payments totalled £114,000,000, or \$542,640,000. Great Britain was actually engaged in the war for a period of four years three months and seven days.

Privates with a minimum of a month's service or less got £5 if any portion of this service was foreign; non-commissioned officers, including Corporals, Sergeants and Warrant Officers, got £6 to £15, depending on rank. This was the basic bonus. In addition to it, privates and non-commissioned officers with more than twelve months' service got 10 shillings for each additional month up to forty-eight months if they had any overseas service, and 5 shillings for additional month if they had only home service.

Second Lieutenants, £35; Lieutenants, £40; Captains, £45; Brigade Majors, £60; Lieutenant Colonels, £75; Colonels, £100; Brigadier Generals, £140; Major Generals, £200; Lieutenant Generals, £370.

Commissioned Officers with more than a year's service got an additional bonus for each additional month up to forty-eight months, rated as follows in the case of those having any overseas service: £1 per additional month to those getting a basic bonus up to £75; 2 per additional month to those getting a basic bonus between £75 and £140; 3 per additional month to those getting a basic bonus of more than £140. If there was no overseas service, these additional payments were halved. Regular pay during war, \$11.40 per month.

CANADA

The actual cash bonus paid by Canada to her soldiers amounted to \$170,000,000. The war service period embraced, as in the case of Great Britain, four years, three months and seven days.

The bonus payments were made on the following basis: Overseas Service—More than one and less than two years, \$280 to single and \$400 to married men; more than two and less than three years, \$350 to single and \$500 to married men; three years and over, \$420 to single and \$600 to married men.

Home Service—For less than one year no bonus was paid to men who did not leave Canada; for more than one and less than two years, \$70 to single and \$100 to married men; two years and less than three years, \$140 to single and \$200 to married men; three years and over, \$210 to married men; three years and over, \$210 to single and \$300 to married men. Regular pay during war, \$33 per month.

AUSTRALIA

A war gratuity of 1s. 6d. per day of oversea service, and 1s. for home service was paid. Regular pay during war \$42 per month.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The payments made by Czechoslovakia are more in the nature of a pension and payable only to disabled. Regular pay during war, \$1.45 per month.

FRANCE

Up to the end of 1921 the total war bonuses paid by France amounted to 542,700,000 francs, or \$100,873,606.

The basis of payment was as follows:

Every French soldier who had a minimum of three months' war service, and升ed up to the rank of Captain, received a demobilization bonus of 250 francs, equivalent at the November, 1918, rate of exchange to \$46.46 as a fixed sum due to all. In addition, each received a sum calculated at the rate of 15 francs for every month's service behind the lines or 20 francs per month if in the fighting line. Regular pay during war, \$1.45 per month.

ITALY

In the case of Italy bonus payments are as yet incomplete. Figures believed approximately correct place the disbursements to date at 1,500,000,000 lire, or \$235,849,056. The period of war embraces three years, five months and nineteen days.

The average bonus given by Italy to each soldier was 1,000 lire (\$157.23) and a complete outfit of civilian clothing. In cases where a man was suffering from illness, not wounds, contracted during service, the bonus was raised to a total of from 1,500 to 3,000 lire.

As regards officers and non-commissioned officers, the Commission for the Army and Navy is now considering a bill for special bonuses which, if it becomes a law, will call for over 90,000,000 lire, or about \$4,517,000, to come out of this and next year's budgets. While this sum is heavy for Italy, it has been pointed out that the disbursement would eventually reduce the army budget, because payment of such a bonus would permit final retirement of large numbers of officers who must remain on the active list until paid. Regular pay during war, \$1.75 per month.

BELGIUM

Various special payments were made at demobilization, known variously as discharge indemnities, clothing indemnities, special savings funds, family allowances, etc. Discharge indemnities ranged from \$9.50 plus \$4.75 per year of service to \$19; the special savings fund amounted to about \$76 per man; the clothing indemnity \$38, the family allowance \$57. The payment most nearly similar to our proposed bonus was a payment of \$13.85 for each month of service at the front paid as a reward in appreciation of service. Regular pay during war, \$2 per month.

GERMANY

A payment of 50 marks and 15 marks for traveling expenses was made on discharge. To crews of submarines 300 marks were paid to the unmarried men and 500 marks to married men. Regular pay during war, \$3 per month.

The Bonus Issue Following World War

Action Taken by America

State Action

Alabama—No provisions.

Arizona—Land settlement scheme.

Arkansas—No provision.

California—Land settlement and educational privileges. Subject to referendum.

Colorado—Allowance for vocational training and agricultural settlement. Bond legislation pending.

Connecticut—Relief in case of need.

Delaware—No provision.

Florida—No provision.

Georgia—No provision.

Idaho—Land settlement scheme.

Illinois—Fifty cents per day for each day of service, not exceeding \$300. Subject to referendum.

Indiana—Land settlement scheme. Educational privileges.

Iowa—Fifty cents per day for each day of service, not exceeding \$350. Subject to referendum. Educational privileges.

Kansas—One dollar for each day of service. Subject to referendum.

Kentucky—Educational privileges.

Louisiana—No provision.

Maine—One hundred dollar cash payment.

Maryland—No provision.

Massachusetts—Provision was made for supplemental state pay during service of ten dollars a month. A post-war bonus of \$100 cash payment is paid.

Michigan—Fifteen dollars a month for each month of service.

Minnesota—Fifteen dollars a month for each month of service, fifty dollars minimum.

Mississippi—No provision.

Missouri—Ten dollars per month for each month of service, not exceeding \$250.

Montana—Ten dollars per month for each month of service, not exceeding \$200. Subject to referendum.

Nebraska—Relief of veterans in need.

Nevada—Provisions for land settlement in cooperation with federal government.

New Hampshire—One hundred dollar cash payment.

New Mexico—Agricultural settlement.

New Jersey—Ten dollars per month for each month of service, not exceeding \$100. Exemption from taxation.

New York—Ten dollars for each month of service, not exceeding \$250. Law declared unconstitutional.

North Carolina—Land settlement cooperation.

North Dakota—Twenty-five dollars for each month of service if used to acquire or improve a home, to establish the recipient in business, to pay expenses of an education, or for medical care. Exemption from taxation.

Ohio—Ten dollars for each month of service, not exceeding \$250.

Oklahoma—Relief of veterans in need.

Oregon—A maximum of \$25 a month, or \$200 a year to be used for school expenses. Contingent upon failure of the Federal government to provide a bonus, a payment of \$15 for each month of service, but not exceeding \$500 is allowed. There is an alternative provision of a loan, not exceeding \$3,000.

Pennsylvania—Ten dollars for each month of service, not exceeding \$200. Subject to referendum.

Rhode Island—One hundred dollars cash payment.

South Carolina—Education privileges. Exemption from taxation.

South Dakota—Fifteen dollars for each month and fifty cents, for each additional day of service, not exceeding \$400. Land settlement scheme. Educational privileges. Relief for veterans in need.

Tennessee—Agricultural settlement.

Texas—No provision.

Utah—Provisions for land settlement in cooperation with federal government. Later repealed.

Vermont—Ten dollars for each month of service not exceeding payment for one year's service.

Virginia—No provision.

Washington—Fifteen dollars for each month of service.

West Virginia—Agricultural settlement. Relief for veterans in need.

Wisconsin—Ten dollars for each month of service but not less than \$50. In lieu of this allowance service men are entitled to \$30 a month up to \$1,000 for purposes of an education or relief.

Wyoming—Agricultural settlement.

Federal Action

Appropriations Made by U. S. Congress Since October 6, 1917, for Allowances and Benefits for World War Veterans

(Legislation embodied in 31 separate acts.)

Military and naval family allowances.....	\$298,615,000
Military and naval compensation.....	557,150,000
Administration	83,896,880
Hospitalization	224,729,402
Hospital construction.....	47,095,000
Vocational training.....	469,123,370
Disposition of remains.....	33,473,782
Bonus allowance (\$60 each).....	248,682,200
Payments to beneficiaries of army men and officers.....	10,495,000
Total.....	\$1,956,260,634

Appropriations for 1923 (included above).....	406,038,842
Cost to Government of pensions in 1875.....	29,980,000
Cost to Government of pensions in 1921.....	279,150,000

NOTE: By the \$60 discharge bonus given to each of 4,500,000 American service men at the close of the war, or a total of about \$270,000,000, the United States paid out a larger sum than any other country save England. The period of war service covered by this bonus disbursement was only one year, seven months and five days, as against three and one-half years in the case of Italy and four years and three months in the cases of Great Britain, Canada and France. The United States paid to the service men a minimum of \$1,600,000,000 a year in pay; Great Britain paid a minimum of \$525,000,000; Canada, \$160,000,000; France, \$26,000,000, and Italy, \$11,000,000.

Bonus Legislation Pending in Congress

Legislation providing for an adjusted compensation, or bonus for veterans of the World War, has been before Congress since the Sixty-sixth Congress convened in extra session May 19, 1919. The large number of bills introduced had been so distributed among the various committees of the House that on February 26, 1920, the House, by resolution, referred all bills relating to soldier bonus to the Committee on Ways and Means, that the various plans might be coordinated and a bill prepared and submitted to the House. On May 20, 1920, H. R. 14157 was introduced containing the so-called "fivefold plan." It also carried provisions for raising revenue sufficient to meet the expenditures under the bill. This bill was reported to the House May 21, 1920, (H. R. 1020), and was passed May 29, 1920, by a vote of 289 to 92. It was referred to the Finance Committee of the Senate, reported with amendments, eliminating the tax features, February 28, 1921, (S. Rept. 821), but was not brought up for final action in the Senate and failed with the adjournment of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

The Fordney Bill—H. R. 10874—An Act to Provide Adjusted Compensation for Veterans of the World War, Etc.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL AS IT PASSED THE HOUSE

The act applies to persons in the military or naval service between April 5, 1917, and November 12, 1918, not dishonorably discharged, discharged for alienage, nor protesting service as conscientious objectors. The provisions for cash payments or loans do not apply to persons who because of higher rank or special conditions of service are considered to have had their pay previously fairly adjusted.

The Act authorizes appropriation but does not make any appropriation of money nor levy taxes or otherwise indicate special sources from which money would be obtained to meet the requirements of its provisions.

Each qualified person is offered the choice of one of the following plans, application to be made by July 1, 1923.

1. Adjusted Service Pay.

Payment of a sum not exceeding \$50 on the basis of \$1.25 a day in case of oversea service, or \$1.00 a day for home service, for each day in service in excess of 60 days performed between April 5, 1917, and July 1, 1919.

2. Adjusted Service Certificates.

To each applicant the Secretary of the Treasury is required to issue an adjusted service certificate. The face value of such certificate shall be the amount accruing to the applicant as adjusted service credit reckoned as \$1.25 for oversea service and \$1.00 for home service for each day in excess of 60 spent on duty between April 15, 1917, and July 1, 1919, but not exceeding \$625 for oversea and \$500 for home service, plus 25 per cent of such amount, plus interest for 20 years at 4½ per cent, the total amount estimated at 3.015 times the adjusted service credit. Rights on adjusted service certificates shall take effect as of October 1, 1922, payable September 30, 1942, to the veteran or a named beneficiary.

Prior to September 30, 1925, loans may be made by banks on such certificates up to 50 per cent of the amount of the adjusted service credit, plus interest at 4½ per cent.

Numerous bills were again introduced when the Sixty-seventh Congress was called into extra session, including H. R. 1 and S. 506, both of which were similar to H. R. 14157, but without financing features attached. On June 20, 1921, S. 506 was reported to the Senate with certain amendments. On July 12 the President addressed Congress in opposition to the measure, basing his objection on the state of the public finances. As a result the bill was recommended to the Finance Committee.

On January 31, 1922, the Committee on Ways and Means of the House again began hearings on the bonus issue, which lasted until February 7, 1922. One month later Mr. Fordney, chairman of the committee, introduced H. R. 10769, which was reintroduced on March 13 with slight changes and numbered H. R. 10874. Three days later the committee reported the bill, and it was passed by the House under special rule on March 23, 1922, by a vote of 333 to 70. It is now (May 30, 1922,) in the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

Interest on such loans shall not exceed 2 per cent. If payment is not made on such loans the banks holding the certificates may present them to the Secretary of the Treasury at any time between May 30, 1925, and October 15, 1925. The Treasury shall pay the amount due the bank and pay to the veteran the difference between the amount paid the bank and 80 per cent of the loan basis of the certificate.

After September 30, 1925, loans shall be made through the medium of the postal service from the Federal Treasury direct, without the mediation of banks. Repayments of loans shall be made through the postoffice on an amortization plan with interest at 4½ per cent. Default in payments for one year shall cause a forfeiture of the certificate. If default is made on less than the maximum loan payment shall be made to the veteran of 80 per cent of the difference between the actual loan and the maximum authorized loan. On loans made between October 1, 1925, and October 1, 1928, the maximum amount of the loan shall be 85 per cent of the adjusted service credit, plus interest at 4½ per cent. The maximum amount allowed on loans made between October 1, 1928, and October 1, 1942, shall be 70 per cent of the adjusted service credit, plus 25 per cent, plus interest at 4½ per cent.

3. Vocational Training.

The veteran may choose an allowance of \$1.75 a day for a course in vocational training. If the amount paid for such course is less than 140 per cent of the adjusted service credit he shall receive the difference.

4. Farm or Home Aid.

For the purpose of purchase or improvement of a city or suburban home of a farm a veteran is entitled to the amount of his adjusted service credit, plus 25 per cent.

5. Land Settlement Aid.

The final plan offered is the choice of settlement on the public lands under an elaborate scheme of soldier settlement and land development.

Cost of the Fordney Bonus Bill

Estimates by Committee on Ways and Means of the House

Total number of veterans eligible to receive the benefits provided under H. R. 10874, 4,458,199.

I. Cost to the government of bonus on basis of 10% choosing cash, 70% the certificate plan, 10% farm and home, 21% vocational training aid plans, 7½% land settlement plan.

Dates	Total
1923-1943.....	\$4,098,719,350

Estimates by United States Treasury Department

II. Cost to the government of bonus on basis of cash for approximately 458,000 men obliged to accept cash under the provisions of H. R. 10874, 70% of the remaining choosing the certificate plan, 23% farm and home aid plan, 3% vocational training, and 2% land settlement plan.

Dates	Total
1923-1943.....	\$4,960,162,000

Will It Require Special Taxation?

No

Representative A. Piatt Andrew

Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

AM confident that the necessary revenue can be provided without further borrowing. If the results of the recent conference for the limitation of armaments are anywhere near as substantial as we have been led to believe, the resultant economies in the appropriations for the Army and Navy will amount to at least \$200,000,000 yearly. These are economies that were not contemplated and taken account of in next year's budget. The War Finance Board, which, according to present legislation, will begin liquidation on July 1 next, has many millions of government money which will be released. We are continually told of new economies being accomplished by the Budget Committee and that there are other economies in prospect. But even if these sources did not exist, merely the interest already accrued or which is annually accruing on the British debt alone would be sufficient to meet the soldiers' claims. In one or another of these ways or by combining several of these ways our veterans can be compensated without increasing taxation, without increasing loans, and without even touching the principal of the debts which are owing us. Congress ought in justice to the veterans, to pass the adjusted compensation act without annexing special revenue measures, and it not only ought to do so but it can do so without fear of serious embarrassment to the Treasury.—March 11, 1922.

Yes

Hon. Andrew W. Mellon

Secretary of the United States Treasury

THE direct cost to the government of a bill carrying these provisions for about 4,500,000 ex-service men is almost impossible to estimate because of the uncertainty as to which of the plans will be chosen, and in what proportions. . Whatever form the soldiers' bonus may take, whether it contemplates a thoroughgoing insurance plan or follows the outlines of the bill which is now pending it will cost from \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 for the next three or four years, and may involve continuing liabilities thereafter of over \$200,000,000 a year until 1943. It is impossible to avoid the cost if a bonus is to be adopted, and it is both dangerous and unwise to attempt to avoid it for the time being by throwing the burden upon the banks of the country and piling up for the Treasury an accumulated liability which, in 1925, may amount to over \$600,000,000. There is no way by which the American taxpayer can avoid the burden, and if a bonus is to be imposed it is far better for all concerned that it be placed upon a direct and definite basis and paid for each year out of current revenue. To do this at the present time will necessarily mean the imposition of additional taxes for the purpose.—March 11, 1922.

The Bonus Bill Discussed in the House

By Republican Members

Pro

Hon. Joseph W. Fordney, Michigan

Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee

THE benefits of this bill are but a small recognition of the great obligation the American people owe to the soldiers who took part in the late war, who rendered such invaluable service at such dreadful cost to themselves.

It is now two and a half years since the signing of the armistice, and on every hand and from every side we hear that veterans are still adrift.

It seems to me imperative in the national interest that effective means should be promptly found for the reestablishment of the soldier and his assimilation into civil life.

It is essential that such reestablishment should be accomplished in such a manner as to place the veteran as nearly as possible on equal footing with those whose business or professional career or other earning power was not interrupted by military service, so that he may be adequately rehabilitated in civil life and the better enabled to bear his share of the immense burden of taxation, which the war has placed upon the country.

It is most desirable that such reestablishment should be accomplished with a minimum of administrative cost, so that the soldier may receive the maximum of benefit from the money expended and the burden to the country may not be unduly increased.

The total debt of our Federal Government is but 7% of its wealth, and if we deduct from the debt the amount owing to us by foreign Governments the debt is but 4 3-10 per cent of our wealth, or the lowest percentage of debt in proportion to its wealth of any principal country in the world. This being true how senseless to say that we cannot pay the bonus.

We were very patriotic during the war when our boys were marching to the front. We cheered them to the echo and with tears in our eyes marched with them down the street on their way to the front. Many of those who accompanied the boys to the depot, who shouted the loudest and waved flags the wildest, are the very people who now begrudge this slight recognition; who snivelingly protest against a possible small tax for the present aid of the boys.

When the boys returned how soon we seemed to forget their sacrifices. Some even say that this bonus is but a sale of patriotism. How unreasonable! How unjust! These boys are our neighbors. They were of the flower of the Nation when called to arms. Over 50 per cent of them were less than 20 years of age; school boys, full of life and full of patriotism; full of determination to do or to die.

I should feel guilty and conscious stricken to look one of these dear boys in the face and say to him "I owe you nothing; my Government owes you nothing."

Con

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Ohio

IN opposing this bill I do not commit myself against such form of compensation to soldiers of the late war as is just and not disastrous to the welfare of the country. At the same time I verily believe it would be far better for these soldiers who are strong of limb not to seek appropriations for a bonus, at least not at this time. Their record of patriotic service is a much nobler and more valuable reward than any opportunity to borrow on certificates of insurance or any dole from the Treasury. Is love of country dead? Must all better impulses and every ennobling action be melted down into dollars?

Any proposition for newly adopted expenses now is ill-timed unless provision is made to meet it. This measure boldly manifests a lucky-go-easy disposition, to add to the weight of expenditures, which are already almost overwhelming, other outlays to be counted in billions, and trust to a future which may abound in hope or be dark with despondency. It is sometimes the last straw which breaks the camel's back.

It is absolutely essential that the careless disregard for the burdens of large expenditures should receive a check. This can only be done by bringing vividly home to the minds of the people the realization that if billions are to be paid out of the Federal Treasury they must pay.

I have little confidence in the figures that have been prepared as estimates of the cost. We may be reasonably certain that the claims will be much larger. In the State of Ohio a bonus was voted, and the estimated cost was \$25,000,000; \$20,000,000 in bonds were issued, and it is now believed that \$34,200,000 will be required. Attention should be called to the fact that while the debts of States have increased but a little more than one-half (55 per cent), the national debt has increased since the beginning of the war more than 22 times. This fact should make us pause and, at least, we should wait until the country is relieved from excessive taxation.

I am thoroughly aware of the dangers which threaten the political fortunes of those who vote against this bill. I have carefully considered the probable results, but no desire for political support when weighed in the balance should count for a moment against what I regard as a plain duty to my constituency and to the country which I have sworn to serve.

Especial condemnation should be visited upon a campaign which has been waged for securing this bonus by threats and by the claim that those who advocate it control some millions of voters, who will oppose anyone who votes against it. As against such a vicious movement there is but one remedy and that is courage.

The Bonus Bill Discussed in the House

By Democratic Members

Pro

Hon. Lamar Jeffers, Alabama

SINCE the day the armistice was signed the ex-service people have been promised some suitable adjusted compensation. The American Legion and other organizations of ex-service people have been given to understand that it was coming. The ex-service people have been led to believe all along that a compensation measure like this was to be passed, not as a matter of charity at all but as a matter of right and justice. Consequently it has gotten to the point now that there is no way for the issue to be settled until an adjusted compensation measure is passed and taken care of. Now that it is actually being considered and after leaders have publicly promised that it would soon be passed, certain interests are flooding the country with propaganda to scare the people with greatly exaggerated statements about the immediate cost of the legislation.

It cost billions to reimburse war contractors; the war mineral relief bill carried forty millions; a bill for the relief of Shipping Board contractor carried fifty millions; twenty million was voted for Russian relief without question as to how the money would be raised; all these measures were put over without any special obnoxious tax being attached to them. Why single out the soldiers' compensation measure to put a special tax upon the people to raise the funds when they have not mentioned any special taxation to pay all these other debts?

If full reparation to the railroads for all losses sustained during the war; if reimbursement for war contractors; if help for the Russians; if a square deal for the great army of war workers; if all this is done in the name of justice, then why not grant this adjusted compensation to the men and women who turned themselves over to Uncle Sam and went away to serve for \$1 per day, less allotment, less insurance, less other items that left a man about \$2 per month which he could squander on tobacco and other luxuries?

These ex-service people all over this country need a little help now in order that they may be able to more readily pick up again the broken threads of their civil lives. It is mighty hard for them to come back and take things up again where they left off. They lost out in many ways. They are young Americans, and many of them are right now struggling against odds to begin life all over again as heads of young American families. They should be encouraged. It is America's sacred duty to be considerate now of those who wore her uniform in time of war.

I favor adjusted compensation for the ex-service men and women of the United States, and I trust it can be worked out so that it will not ruin this rich country of ours, as Secretary Mellon and other interests would have us believe.

Surely our country can give recognition to her ex-soldiers and ex-service women equal to what other countries have done for theirs.

Con

Hon. W. Bourke Cochran, New York

FOR the man who has been disabled, no provision ever yet made has been sufficient, in my judgment, to re- quite or properly acknowledge the merit of his sacrifice. But to the man who had the privilege of bearing arms in the most momentous conflict of all history and who has returned from that glorious adventure safe and sound. I deny there is any obligation whatever. I deny that he wants any compensation or asks for it. It is the politician who covets his vote, but who I believe utterly misunderstands him, that is urging this measure. The American soldier who risked his life to save civilization, as has been said here repeatedly on the floor, is a hero, deserving to rank first among all those on whom the judgment of humanity has conferred the crown of heroism. His heroism is his reward. It must be his complete reward or it ceases to exist. The man who accepts compensation of any kind for the sacrifice which is the essential constituent of heroism ceases to be a hero and at once becomes a mercenary.

We find ourselves in a condition when the most reckless purpose or the most halting intelligence must see for itself that before any money can be taken out of the Treasury by appropriation it first must be put into the Treasury by taxation. And you can not levy a tax to meet this new expense which you propose to impose on the country. Why? Not because the disposition to levy it is lacking but because the sources of taxation are exhausted—literally dried up. Yet knowing this, stating it openly, you persist in this attempt to dispose of moneys which you have not got and which you can not get.

Should this measure pass, these three or four billions of dollars it proposes to bestow on ex-soldiers now are not all that the country will be forced to supply. You will have established their rights to come again with renewed demands when you pass this law. And if you once awaken among a great number of men an appetite for spoils by gratifying the first manifestations of it you will find that cupidity can empty the Treasury much faster than industry can fill it. So long as these soldiers remain alive you will have that possibility, that certainty of their return with fresh demands—which after passing this bill there will be no excuse for withholding—projected like a pall over the credit of the country, under which it can not fail to sink and perish. Here is the capital calamity to which this legislation leads us: The collapse of credit. And when credit is struck down the country will be bankrupt.

What you give to these men will be a mere pittance to each one, but it will be a staggering load to place upon the country, under which and the additional burdens that are sure to follow our credit will fall prostrate, never, perhaps to rise again.

The Bonus Bill Discussed in the *Senate

By Republican Members

Pro

Senator Porter J. McCumber, N. Dak.

Chairman, Senate Finance Committee

On May 29, 1920, just before the presidential campaign, the House of Representatives passed the Soldiers' Bonus Bill by an overwhelming majority. The Senate promised that the bill should be passed in the Senate immediately upon the convening of Congress in December. Unless we make good that promise now we may prepare to defend ourselves against the charge of duplicity.

The patriotic duty as between soldier and civilian being concurrent and equal the right of the soldier who offers his very life with his service to receive a compensation equal at least to that of the civilian who risks neither life nor limb inevitably follows.

But we flagrantly abandoned that principle of equality when we allowed the stay-at-homes not only to reap enormous financial advantages over the soldier but to reap them at the expense of our Army and its proper equipment and supplies. The soldier suffered because of this abandonment and the bill now being considered is to partially compensate him for his loss. It is not a bonus bill. It is not a gift or a gratuity. It is a compensation in part payment of a debt of the highest moral obligation.

When the soldier returned from the front he found that his stay-at-home brother had been receiving from two to four times the monthly stipend which he had received. He further found that this extraordinary home wage, coupled with wastefulness, extravagance, and profiteering, had enormously added to our bonded debt. He found vast increases in the savings accounts and many other evidences of gain in which he had no share. He had none of these opportunities for large gains and increased savings which always come with sudden currency inflation and high wages. He found his old position held by another.

Therefore, leaving out of the computation every vestige of sentiment, every element of gratitude, and applying only the rigid rule of mathematical equation, we cannot deny that by allowing the man who fought for his country, who placed his life in pawn for his country, the increase in his compensation provided for in this bill, we are still giving him for his services with all the consequent risk and hardship, a compensation much below that which the common laborer in the United States received during his absence.

Even though our action calls for an outlay from which we would gladly escape, and will enforce greater economy along other lines, let us not delay the fulfillment of this, to my mind, sacred financial obligation; and let a future Congress see to it that in any future war there shall be no distinction made or allowed between the patriotic duty of the soldier and that of the civilian, and that industrial slackening and profiteering shall be visited with as heavy a penalty as draft evasion or desertion. We will then conduct war upon a just and proper basis, and there will be no further call for remedial legislation of this character.

Con

Senator William E. Borah, Idaho

THOSE who went to war and returned shattered in mind and broken in body, mangled in limb, and afflicted with disease, are, or should be, the objects of the Government's vigilant and constant and generous care. For them the taxpayer is willing to carry greater burdens. For them our people are willing to make additional sacrifices. But when I am asked to unlock the Treasury of the United States to those who were fortunate enough to pass through the ordeal unscathed, when I am asked to pay from the public funds large sums to those who have received no injury, I am bound to ask myself upon what principle may I do this.

Adjusted compensation! Compensation for what—for service when the country is in peril—for defeating the enemy? How would you compensate men for such service? Such service defies compensation. Were those men the hired soldiers of the Republic? In one breath we are told we went to war for humanity, for civilization; in another for compensation. The committee doubtless felt that in getting rid of the word "bonus" and inserting the words "adjusted compensation" it had fumigated the bill; that it had raised the measure from the low level of a gratuity to the high level of cash for services rendered. But if I mistake not they have fastened a stigma upon the bill which will be distasteful for all time to the spirit of the true soldier.

It is not so difficult to get men to do their duty in time of war, the stress and the intensity of the situation nerve them to action. But in time of peace, when subtle influences are undermining the very pillars of the Government itself, men drift and drift and procrastinate until it is too late. In my opinion the task of the young man who went to war in 1918 is only beginning. We need his leadership, we need his self-sacrifice, we need his command of the respect of the people to point a way out of this situation. He must lead, but he cannot succeed along lines now being pursued. If we engage in this indiscriminate distributing money from the Public Treasury, conditions will grow worse for him, as well as for his fellow citizens. If he comes here and asks of the Public Treasury, others will come and ask of the Public Treasury. It will become a-matter, as in some countries of Europe, of one class invading the Treasury one day and another class invading the Treasury the next day.

The soldier of this country can not be aided except as the country itself is rehabilitated. The soldier cannot come back except the people as a whole come back. The soldier cannot prosper unless the people prosper. He has now gone back and intermingled and become a part of the citizenship of the country; he is wrapped up in its welfare or in its adversity. The handing out to him of a few dollars will not benefit him under such circumstances, whereas it will greatly injure the prospects of the country and the restoration of normal conditions.

* Extracts from speeches made on the floor of the Senate.

The Bonus Bill Discussed in the Senate

By Democratic Members

Pro

Senator David I. Walsh, Massachusetts

UPON what theory is it proposed to adjust the compensation of our war veterans? Briefly, the adjusted compensation bill acknowledges that the wage contract which the government made at the outset of the war with that class of citizens who were to be entrusted with the defense and preservation of our government, was in the light of what we now know about the economic conditions in America during the war, inadequate, unfair and unjust.

What standard was used in fixing compensation? We had no standard. We did not know but that before the war ended everybody would be stripped of their last dollar in order that those who remained at home might produce the money and munitions necessary to assist our men at the front. We now know that no such sacrifice was necessary. We know that those who remained at home were paid exceedingly high wages and enjoyed more of the comforts of life than ever before; and we now know this further truth, that the lowest compensation given to any person in the service of the government or private employer was paid to the men whose labor was the hardest, whose dangers were the greatest and whose trials were the most severe—the defenders of our country.

Upon what theory can we justify this course? Let us bear in mind that our ex-service men do not ask us to consider in the adjustment of their compensation their absence from home, their exposure to disease, their long weary marches and monotonous drills, the dangers encountered in facing or preparing to face the enemy, or the spirit that led them to face death willingly. They ask us merely to give them a compensation comparable to that paid the lowest paid laborer in the United States by the poorest and most penurious private employer; they ask that we consider their right to a compensation approaching that given to the weak and physically unfit whom we exempted from military service and paid substantial wages.

Let those who enjoy profusely the comforts of life, whether war veterans or large tax payers, remember that a few hundred dollars to the farm laborer, the mill operative, the clerk in the store, means much in regaining the lost ground surrendered by him during the war, in his struggle for a livelihood for himself and family. There are millions of this class among our veterans. Let us not think only of the few who can afford to scoff at the extra compensation which to them is inconsequential.

Neither is a recitation of the amount of money spent to hospitalize and compensate our diseased and injured veterans, which is often the argument of those in opposition, an answer to the question of whether or not we have done full economic justice to our ex-service men as a class.

Con

Senator Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama

Minority Leader of the Senate

I AM opposed to paying a bonus to the soldier. I am willing to go to the extreme limit to take care of the man who is disabled, who is injured, who is sick, who has suffered, or whose family has suffered by reason of his services in the Great War, but I am not going by my vote to measure in dollars the services of the man who came back sound and well. That applies to the State bonus just as well as it does to the national bonus, and I shall tell you why.

In my opinion if we are going to measure patriotic services in dollars, then the very fabric of our Republic in the end will fall. Was it dollars that took the Minute Men of Lexington to the firing line? Was it dollars that held Washington's tattered army together at Valley Forge? Was it dollars that led the onward rush of the victorious army of the Revolution at Yorktown and achieved our liberty and our independence? Did this great Government of ours ever attempt to measure the services of those men in dollars? Did those great soldiers of the day ever ask for dollar remuneration for the patriotic service which they rendered to the country?

So we can come down through the War of 1812, the war with Mexico, and the two great contending sides in the war between the States. I see one of the veterans of that war sitting before me, who held the line on his side as a beardless boy. Did he ever measure his service to his flag and his country by the dollar? When we take the other side, that poorly munitioned, poorly fed, hungry crowd that for two years after Gettysburg followed the sword of Lee—tell me, do you think they were fighting for dollars? No! The service they rendered could not be measured in dollars.

I would not reflect upon those who are near and dear to me who volunteered their services in this great war, who followed their country's flag, by saying that the recognition I should give to their service on the battle fields of France should be \$1.25 a day. You may pass this bill, you may give it your approval and write in your country's history that which has never been written there before, that men no longer make sacrifice, but that they fight and are compensated by dollars, that their service should be equalized in dollars by their great Government, and yet you know it is a farce and that what you are attempting to do is a farce.

Those men did not volunteer for dollars. Those men did not fight and sacrifice for dollars. They fought and sacrificed because they loved their country and its flag. I say to you that if the time has come when American patriotism must be purchased and not given for love of country, then we have reached an era in our Republic when the temple of liberty is in danger, when the pedestal of freedom from which flows the Stars and Stripes is about to fall.

The Bonus Bill Discussed by the Lobby

Pro
American Legion

National Legislative Committee

THE Adjusted Compensation bill is not the child of the American Legion, but was born in the hearts of patriotic Congressmen, who at the conclusion of the war realized the financial loss the veteran had endured, and resolved to rectify this economic handicap.

These Congressmen did not stress the hardships of the soldier, for they knew his reward had been in the knowledge, for all time, that in the hour of his country's need, he was weighed in the balance and not found wanting.

But they soon realized the difficulties the veterans faced. Jobs of some filled by slackers; others unable to stabilize themselves after their war experiences, 600,000 jobless and broke. The Congressmen knew the war did not end for the veteran with his honorable discharge.

The Congressmen knew what war meant to those at home. How dumping 32 billions of money among the people had pushed up wages of war workers, and trebled profits of manufacturer, merchant and landlord. They saw 25,000 war millionaires made while the soldiers bled.

They compared the plight of the two—the one who saw in the war an opportunity for service, the other who grasped the sure thing profits. And they realized then that the money and business of the nation should have been drafted as well as the lives of the young men, and they determined this blunder must be adjusted.

This was the birth of Adjusted Compensation. The veteran welcomed it as an appreciation of his difficulties, but delays came in devising methods of financing a bill.

Then arose protests from the war fatted, who visualized added profits provided all money could be used for their purposes; they grudged the veteran his valid compensation, and called him hard names through their mouthpieces.

This confused the soldier. He could not understand why he was a hero, worshipped when he went away and cheered when he returned; then tolerated as a "soldier boy"; and finally accused of "commercializing his patriotism" for requesting the payment of what Congress had told him was a just debt.

As is known, the five-fold bill was drawn by the Legion at request of Congress; its provisions represent what the veterans believe will give a maximum of aid, with a minimum of expense, and its payment will extend over a period of 40 years.

The veteran did not at first seek adjusted compensation—it was promised him. But when his economic handicap became increasingly apparent, he saw the benefits it would bring and asked for it. Not as a bonus, not as a gratuity, but as the honest payment of a valid obligation, now overdue, which is a legitimate part of the war expense. The time to meet this obligation is NOW, when it will bring a maximum of aid in helping the veteran to help himself.

Con
U. S. Chamber of Commerce

WHEN adequate steps have been taken by the government to insure the care and rehabilitation of the disabled, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce advocates for the uninjured, land reclamation for farm aid and the opportunity to obtain a vocational education—forms of aid which clearly tend to buildup and establish the veteran as a self-supporting member of the community.

On the question of a cash bonus or certificate method of payment, in a referendum vote, the membership, by a seventy-two percent majority of votes cast opposed these forms of payment. Following is a summary of the reasons for opposition:

1. The Bonus Bill now pending in congress calls for a maximum expenditure in behalf of uninjured veterans of approximately \$4,500,000,000. This sum is more than our government disbursed for its entire operations during the six years before our entry into the world war.
2. Advocates of the cash bonus demand a sum for uninjured men, the maximum of which is over four times our total pre-war national debt.
3. The bonus bill calls for expenditures exceeding the amounts this government has paid for pensions in the 142 years of its existence.
4. The cash bonus is demanded for veterans of an army one-half of which—about 2,000,000 men—was enlisted six months or less before the armistice was signed, and most of them never left their army camps.
5. An appalling sum is demanded by advocates of a bonus despite the fact that the government debt was increased 2,210 per cent as a result of the war—as against an average increase of state debts of only 55 per cent.
6. A cash bonus is demanded despite the fact that our annual government disbursements this fiscal year will approximately equal government disbursements for the entire five years before the war.
7. A cash bonus is demanded despite the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury estimates a deficit for the ensuing fiscal year which approaches \$500,000,000.
8. A bonus is demanded "because our Allies paid a bonus." It must not be forgotten that during the nineteen months we were at war the soldiers of various nations received approximately these amounts: United States, \$570; France, \$27.55; Italy, \$33.06; Russia, \$7.41; Great Britain, New Zealand and South Africa, \$138.70.
9. The Government has already spent for disabled and uninjured veterans \$1,916,877,280. Approximately \$1,000,000 a day is being disbursed for veterans NOW. It is estimated that the peak of disability will not be reached until 1927, and there will necessarily be an increase of appropriations. The resources of this nation must be preserved. It is believed that the payment of a cash bonus of tremendous proportions to uninjured veterans would seriously affect the government's ability to provide adequate funds for the disabled.

The Sales Tax to Pay Bonus

Pro

President Harding

IT continues to be my best judgment that any compensation legislation enacted at this time ought to carry with it the provisions for raising the needed revenues, and I find myself unable to suggest any commendable plan other than that of a general sales tax. Such a tax will distribute the cost of rewarding the ex-service men in such a manner that it will be borne by all the people whom they served, and does not commit the Government to class imposition of taxes or the resumption of the burdens recently repealed, the maintenance of which can be justified only by a great war emergency.

We have no serious problem in beginning the allotments of public lands and the immediate issue of paid-up insurance. The real difficulty lies in the payment of the cash bonus. Rather than provide that the maximum cash payments shall extend over a period of two and one-half years, it would be a vastly better bestowal if we could await the day when we may safely undertake to pay at once in full, so that the award may be turned to real advantage.

Inasmuch as the Treasury is to be called upon to meet more than six billion dollars of maturing obligations in the sixteen months immediately before us, it is not possible to recommend the issue of several hundred millions of additional short-time notes. Further excessive borrowing would likely undo all that has been accomplished in readjusting interest rates and stabilizing the financial world, both vitally essential to the resumption of industrial and commercial activities.

. . . I believe the American people will accept the levy of a general sales tax to meet the proposed bonus payments, and we should contribute thereby no added difficulties to the problems of readjustment. If Congress will not adopt such a plan, it would be wise to let the legislation go over until there is a situation which will justify the large outlay. . . . I take it that the ex-service men themselves are no less concerned than others about the restoration of business and the return to abundant employment. Those of their wounded or sick comrades, who were impaired by their war service, are being cared for with the most liberal generosity the nation can bestow. There are here and there exceptional cases of neglect, and attending complaint, but we are seeking them out and correcting with all possible speed. It has not been possible to meet all the demands for special hospitalization but we are building to that end, without counting the cost. We are expending \$400,000,000 a year in compensation, hospitalization and rehabilitation. These things are recited to reassure you that such delay as will enable Congress to act in prudence for the common good, will have no suggestion of unmindfulness or ingratitude.—*Excerpts from letter to House Committee preparing bonus bill, Feb. 16, 1922.*

Con

Harford Mac Nider

National Commander, American Legion

THE American Legion speaking for nearly five million returned service men and women and fifteen to twenty million more of their immediate families who do not understand first commitment and then retraction ask that the passage of the adjusted compensation bill be no longer delayed. . . . Had capital and labor been drafted when men's lives were drafted the present aggravated situation would not exist. When it was a question of reimbursing manufacturers for war contracts never fulfilled, requiring some three billion dollars, no such hue and cry was raised. It was an obligation and it was paid. Here is an obligation no less just than of the manufacturers, railroads and the shipping interests. Certainly their service was not so much more patriotic than that of the men who offered their lives.

The American Legion at the request of Congress drafted the pending legislation and feels it to be a just obligation. The Legion feeling that the nation wants this debt recognized and not confused or endangered by opposition to revenue raising riders asks that the five-fold adjusted compensation bill be passed. That these men may be furnished a slight stepping stone up to the economic level of those who had the opportunity whether they took advantage of it or not to intrench themselves in permanent employment and save from their war-time earnings against just such conditions which the veteran finds confronting him today. . . .

We cannot help but feel that what opposition there is comes from ignorance of its cause and effect of the measure. Farm and Home Aid Vocational Training, Paid up Insurance, Land Development and Settlement, all these features are certainly going to help create more constructive citizens.

There is a cash feature but with hundreds of thousands of ex-service men walking the streets of our cities looking for work we do not feel competent to dictate to these men their choice. The negligible minority in opposition can be traced in nearly every case to certain selfish interests intrenched in great financial centers who had the most to lose financially by defeat and who profited the most by victory. . . .

Practically every bit of legislation in effect for the Disabled Relief was not only written and pushed but put through by the American Legion and the Legion expects to continue the fight until they are properly taken care of by the country they fought for. The American Legion firmly believing that it is expressing the sentiment of the people of the United States asks that a Committed Administration allow the passage of what we believe to be the most constructive measure that can be devised. It is not a question of tearing down the service man's self respect, it is a matter of saving the nation its own.—*Excerpts from telegram sent President Harding, Feb. 19, 1922.*

The Bonus Bill Discussed by the Press

Pro

Chicago Tribune, Illinois, 3/9/22.

In the war, the life, the institutions, the homes, the businesses, and the future of our country were at stake. The American soldier defended and preserved them. He was discharged with the acclamations of the multitude upon his heroism. After the war the world seethed with the menace of bolshevism and anarchy. Again the American soldier, organized into the American Legion, stepped into the breach, hauled down the red flag, and hoisted the Stars and Stripes. Again the soldiers were acclaimed as heroes. The acclamation continued until they suggested the accounts be balanced. Immediately they became "robbers," "mercenaries," "looters" in the eyes of many of those they had protected. That is wrong. The Legion knows that is wrong. It must win the fight. If it fails, it will die and much of the spirit of democracy, justice, loyalty and courage which has made America great will die with it.

The Stars and Stripes, Washington, D. C., 5/20/22.

Military service to the Nation is the highest expression of citizenship. The acts of government in adjusting the position of the temporary soldier to his permanent civilian status should be considered in that light—must be considered in that light—if a hundred million people are to be held together in mutual respect as a self-governing Nation. The bonus proposal is part of the national ideal of national service and national justice, and if its consideration were confined to that aspect it would not be such a difficult question to solve.

Boston Traveler, Massachusetts, 3/10/22.

These men have been charged with endeavoring to commercialize their patriotism. They inwardly resent and outwardly deny the aspersion. The returned soldier does not need lessons in patriotism from any of his fellow-citizens who remained at home. The term "bonus" is not favored by the veterans. They want no mere gift from the Treasury, no paltry reward of loyalty or devotion. But the rub comes here. The soldiers realize that every public service which requires the constant attention of a citizen is expected to yield him two sorts of compensation—not only an inward satisfaction, but an outward, material, practical emolument known as wages.

The Commercial Tribune, Cincinnati, Ohio, 2/14/22.

It cannot be denied that save for the service of these men the country would have been in much worse financial funk than is now possible to bonus causes. It may be even reasonably assumed that there would be by this time little American business conducted as American business. While pouring out billions in aid of class appeal at home and credits abroad, millions in subsidy of industries, transportation, labor, agriculture and whatever else needs inflated assistance, there is this constant haggling over this one act in genuine expression of the country's appreciation of service rendered.

Rochester Times-Union, New York, 3/2/22.

Those who say that the country cannot bear the expense of adjusted compensation for the soldiers should remember that there is after all no loss, but simply a transfer of funds.

When money is taken by taxation from the public at large and given to men who made great sacrifices upon behalf of the State, there is no direct loss to the nation, except for the cost of administration. It is taking money from Peter to compensate an extremely deserving Paul.

Des Moines Capital, Iowa, 3/16/22.

There is no necessity for preparing the bonus as a bitter dose of medicine and swallowing it as such. . . . In the name of all that is good in this republic, let us pay the back wages to the soldiers without taking the process as a whipping. Such a payment involves as much real justice as any bill that has ever come before the American Congress. The Federal government, which is a going concern, can pay the soldiers without special taxes which jump up into the taxpayers' face and shout: "I am the bonus."

Con

New York Herald, New York, 2/14/22.

The soldier bonus, as a bid for votes in the coming election, is the most flagrant and the most wicked assault on your pocketbook ever yet made in Congress.

Do you know what this bonus commitment would let you in for? Let us see: It took the Government roughly, half a century to pay its Civil War debt of two billions, six hundred millions of dollars.

We have now a war debt of twenty-three billions of dollars. Add this soldier bonus commitment to the present debt and ask yourself when the Government will get the last cent paid.

If it takes one hundred years to clean the slate, and it might take even longer, this soldier bonus alone, treated as a part of the whole, would amount, roughly, principal and interest, to twenty billions of dollars.

Post, Charleston, South Carolina, 3/14/22.

Mr. Harding has a rare opportunity to assert a leadership he will have to take in the end, however distasteful to him the role may be, and to establish a reputation for firmness at a single stroke, incidentally saving the country the first five billion dollars demanded by the ex-service men.

Republican, Battleboro, Vermont, 2/25/22.

What the service man needs most of all right now is a good, paying job, a chance to earn a good and comfortable living. Business has been depressed for a long time and is just beginning to come up a little. If this extra burden is put on business while it is in a convalescent stage, it will have a relapse.

Telegraph, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 2/23/22.

The best gift that the nation could make to its former soldiers is not to hand them a bunch of money (to be spent in a few days, weeks or months) and then forget them. The best way to show appreciation of their services is to encourage business so that there will be jobs open and therefore pay envelopes and therefore means to order goods from the factories and farms, and, therefore, prosperity.

Ohio State Journal, Columbus, Ohio, 2/25/22.

A cash reward for patriotic service does not appeal to an upstanding young American who has his health and strength and his chance to win his way. And yet because it has been made to appear that it does, our politicians in Washington seem actually afraid not to force the country in doing what they well know it cannot afford to do and what would prolong unemployment and hard times for soldiers and all, and that, too, if they can encompass it, in some indirect and insincere way.

News, Parkersburg, West Virginia, 2/22/22.

Passing a bonus law means passing a tax law. Every man who supports a bonus must, if he is honest, also support a tax. The question before Congress today, therefore, is not one of patriotism or of gratitude, but the intensely practical task of devising a tax that will produce revenue for a bonus without doing more harm than good.

Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio, 2/18/22.

Many of the ex-service men themselves are against the bonus plan at this time. Uncle Sam proposes to bestow a gratuity upon them with one hand and tax it away from them with the other. The proposed tax will bear as heavily upon the ex-soldiers as civilians. It will impose an added burden of taxation that will be an incubus upon the country's business and to that degree injure them by delaying the hoped-for return to better times. The ex-service men will take their chances on getting ahead in the world if the country is prosperous. That's the kind of a nation they fought for.

News Press, St. Joseph, Missouri, 2/22/22.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more reckless than the proposed program, which is a flagrant case of legislating for votes. Whether more votes would be won than lost, however, is a question which might be well to look into.

A Digest of the Congressional Record

(Official Publication of the United States Congress)

Debate and Action in the Senate and House during May

Senate

MONDAY, MAY 1, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5 P. M.)

A general, political speech made by Senator Pittman (Democrat), Nevada, charged Republicans with failure to act upon important bills pending before committees.

Senator Simmons addressed the Senate on the subject of rural credits.

Discussed Tariff bill (H. R. 7456) the remainder of the afternoon.

Passed bill (S. 2775) extending for one year from next July 1 the powers of the War Finance Corporation as amended to provide for agricultural relief.

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5.25 P. M.)

Resumed consideration of the Tariff bill (H. R. 7456). The first item in the chemical schedule was accepted by a vote of 47 to 2 after twelve days of debate.

Passed H. J. Res. 319 appropriating \$200,000 to be immediately available for flood relief work on the Mississippi.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 5.55 P. M.)

Discussed the Tariff bill, the proposed 10 per cent on cyanide being the item around which the discussion raged.

Adopted a resolution authorizing the President to revive the former extradition treaties between this government and Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

Adopted the conference report on the agricultural appropriation bill, carrying a total of \$36,774,000, and sent the measure to the President.

Adopted a resolution sponsored by Senator Lodge favoring establishment of a national home for Jewish people in Palestine.

Agreed to the conference report on the bill extending the life of the present 3 per cent immigration restriction law three years from next June 30.

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 5.45 P. M.)

In an extended speech Senator Borah (Rep.), Idaho, attacked General Semenoff and Ambassador Bakhmeteff and strongly condemned the State Department for its policy of recognition of Bakhmeteff as the representative of a government which has not existed for several years.

Senator Caraway (Dem.), Arkansas, again attacked the Attorney General in connection with the Morse case.

Action was taken on the second of the 2,000 and more Senate Tariff amendments.

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 5.35 P. M.)

Lack of progress on the Tariff bill precipitated several clashes between Republican and Democratic leaders.

Senator Caraway (Dem.), Arkansas, gave the Senate another installment of his attack on the Attorney General growing out of the Morse case. Senator Willis (Rep.), Ohio, put into the Record letters from former President Taft and Attorney General Wickesham denying that Mr. Daugherty had influenced their action in the Morse case at the time he was released from the Atlanta penitentiary.

House

MONDAY, MAY 1, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.35 P. M.)

Passed the Dunn bill (H. R. 11131), an appropriation of \$65,000,000 for road building for the year beginning next July 1 and \$75,000,000 for the following year.

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5.10 P. M.)

An emergency appropriation of \$200,000 for flood relief work on the Mississippi was rushed through and sent to the Senate.

Adopted the conference report on H. J. Res. 268, extending the operation of the 3 per cent immigration act.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5.15 P. M.)

Discussed the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill (H. R. 10101). All the items in the conference report were agreed to with the exception of the proposed additions to the park system. This item was sent back to conference.

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.55 P. M.)

The bill (H. R. 2193) designed to shut the gates against the import and export of all narcotics except those intended for medicinal uses, and providing for the creation of a Federal narcotic-control board to administer the law, was passed and sent to the Senate.

The Treadway bill (H. R. 10877) to create ten new internal revenue collection districts after three hours of opposition was laid aside with indications that it will not be called up this session.

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5.20 P. M.)

The \$17,000,000 hospital bill (H. R. 11541), making immediately available \$12,000,000 for beginning construction of institutions in twelve of the fourteen veteran bureau districts, was adopted.

Passed bill (H. R. 10442) authorizing the Philippine government to increase its bonded indebtedness from \$30,000,000 to \$75,000,000.

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1922.

Not in session.

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.40 P. M.)

Considered bill (H. R. 10972) to readjust the pay and allowances of the commissioned and enlisted personnel of the army, navy, marine corps, coast guard, coast and geodetic survey and public health service.

Adopted the conference report on the bill under which Federal farm loan banks would be authorized to make loans on the unenumbered value of lands on United States reclamation projects.

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.50 P. M.)

Resumed consideration of bill (H. R. 10972) for readjustment of pay of the army, navy, etc.

Senate

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 4.55 P. M.)

A letter transmitted to the Senate by Secretary Hughes from Boris Bakmeteff, Russian Ambassador, denied all charges of a mysterious diversion of American funds loaned to Russia and stated that the \$187,000,000 advanced by this government had been properly expended and accounted for in official reports made by the embassy to the Treasury Department. Senator Borah announced that he had carefully examined the embassy's report and still was unable to decide what had become of \$78,000,000 of the fund. The Senator, without disclosing his plans, said he contemplated further action.

The report of the minority members of the finance committee on the Tariff bill was laid before the Senate. It contends that it will impose a tax on the people amounting from three to four billion dollars a year.

Senator Ashurst (Dem.), of Arizona, attacked the veterans bureau and the Senate special hospitalization committee.

Passed (H. R. 11547) bill carrying an appropriation of \$12,000,000 for additional hospital facilities for patients of the United States Veterans' Bureau.

Passed a bill authorizing the Postmaster General to grant permits to cities to issue special cancelling stamps without cost to the government.

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 6.27 P. M.)

In a prepared speech on the Tariff, Senator Walsh (Mont.) attacked the constitutionality of the provisions giving the President blanket authority to raise or lower tariff rates of duty.

Chairman McCumber announced that some of the objections raised to the plan would be considered by the committee before final action on the measure.

Senator Underwood and Senator Simmons supported the arguments of Senator Walsh, and declared that for the first time in the country's history it was proposed to protect the profits of American manufacturers.

Senator Borah renewed his demands on the State and Treasury Departments for information on the Bakmeteff case.

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 6.30 P. M.)

After five hours of debate on the item of formic acid in the Tariff bill the committee amendment was agreed to and the bottom of the second page of the bill, which covers 438 pages, was reached.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.12 P. M.)

Democratic Senators, who are charged with conducting an organized filibuster, protested vigorously the decision of Republicans to hold night sessions on the Tariff bill.

Chairman McCumber told the leaders of the filibuster that the majority would accept the challenge with an effort to prevent it.

Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, ranking Democratic member of the committee, in a serious discussion of the Tariff bill read into the Record editorials from newspapers that have voiced opposition to the tariff measure.

THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.25 P. M.)

Little headway was made on the Tariff bill, the most important action being the transfer of ammonium nitrate from the free list to dutiable at 1 cent a pound.

Senator Gooding (Rep.), Idaho, chairman of the agricultural-tariff bloc, made his first prepared speech, declaring there never was a time in American history when it needed protection more than it does today.

House

President Harding transmitted a detailed statement from the Attorney General concerning the prosecution of war fraud case, in which he stated that examinations so far completed disclosed in each instance sufficient indication that a crime had been committed to warrant submitting them to a grand jury. A partisan wrangle followed.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 5.55 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. J. Res. 270) providing for a loan by the government of \$5,000,000 to the public of Liberia. A motion to recommit the measure was defeated.

THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.55 P. M.)

Resumed consideration of the bill (H. R. 10972) for readjustment of pay of the army, navy, etc. Spent the entire day considering this bill.

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5.40 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. R. 10972) readjusting the pay and allowances of the commissioned and enlisted personnel of the army, navy and marine corps, coast and geodetic survey and public health service.

Miss Alice Robertson won her fight for higher subsistence and room rent for army and navy nurses.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 3.17 P. M.)

The Senate amendment to postoffice bill (H. R. 9859) providing \$1,900,000 for operation of the New York-San Francisco air mail service was adopted.

The Senate amendment for the restoration and enlargement of the pneumatic tube service in New York was agreed to.

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.15 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. R. 11645) appropriating \$500,000 for use by the Department of Justice in investigating and prosecuting war fraud contract cases.

Passed the bill (S. 3505) providing for an additional grand jury in the District of Columbia before which evidence in war fraud cases may be presented.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.40 P. M.)

Discussed the bill (H. R. 11214) authorizing the President to scrap vessels in conformity with the provisions of the treaty to limit naval armaments and for other purposes.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.20 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. R. 11214) authorizing the President to scrap warships in accordance with the conference agreements and authorizing the conversion of two battleships now building into airplane carriers.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 3 P. M.)

Discussed Rivers and Harbors bill (H. R. 10766).

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 6.20 P. M.)

Spent the entire day considering the Rivers and Harbors bill.

Senate

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.17 P. M.)

Senator Simmons, Democratic ranking member of the finance committee, declared that if the Tariff bill is passed in its present form the business of the country will be plunged into a debacle from which it would require a quarter of a century to recover.

Chairman McCumber, in charge of the bill, replied to the attacks of Senator Simmons, concluding with an appeal that Republicans who are ready to assume all responsibility for the legislation be permitted to pass it by those now engaged in filibustering.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 5.05 P. M.)

Senator Underwood in discussing the Tariff bill charged that the Republicans were placing a tax on education by raising the rates on all things that enter into school supplies.

Adopted a resolution by Senator McKellar (Dem.), of Tennessee, providing for an investigation by a Senate committee of the recent nation-wide increases in the price of gasoline.

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.07 P. M.)

Rejected Senator Johnson's amendment to the committee amendment to increase the rates proposed on citric acid and citrate of lime to protect the lemon growers of the Pacific coast.

Adopted an amendment fixing the duty on olive oil at 60 and 50 cents a gallon, which is higher than provided by the House bill and as reported by the finance committee.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1922.

(Convened 10 A. M., adjourned 6.05 P. M.)

After six-and-a-half hours of debate on the Tariff the committee rate on court plaster was sustained.

Senator Capper, of Kansas, in a prepared speech, opposed the American valuation plan of assessing rates of duties on the ground that it might conceal excessive rates.

Chairman Gooding, of the Republican agricultural tariff bloc, declared the pending Tariff bill was the first ever framed that gave the farmer a "square deal."

Senator Underwood, replying to Mr. Gooding, declared that for every dollar of protection the farmer would receive he would have to pay \$100 in taxes to producers of necessities which he used.

Chairman McCumber challenged Senator Walsh's (Dem. of Mass.) estimate that the cost of the Tariff bill to the American consumer would be \$17,600,000,000. Chairman McCumber pointed out that as the total income of the wage earners of the country was only \$8,000,000,000 a year, the public could not spend more than it made.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.30 P. M.)

Senator Ladd (Rep.), of North Dakota, charged that dishonest propaganda was being circulated about tariff matters, claiming, for example, that the tariff on shoes will add \$2.00 to the cost of each pair.

Senator McCumber, in charge of the bill, estimated that the duty on shoes as a result of the tariff would aggregate only 8 cents a pair.

House

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 12.20 P. M.)

MONDAY, MAY 22, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 7.16 P. M.)

Passed the bill (S. 2919) to extend the Ball rent act for two years.

Passed the bill (H. R. 10766) for improvements for rivers and harbors.

Quinn Williams (Dem.), of Texas, was sworn in as a member of the House of Representatives as the successor of the late Representative Lucian Parrish.

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 5.17 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. R. 9527) granting perpetual charters to national banks instead of for twenty-year periods, as under existing law.

Passed the bill (S. 2263) amending the Federal reserve act.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1922.

(Convened at 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5.50 P. M.)

The bill (H. R. 8086) prohibiting the transportation in interstate commerce of filled milk was considered.

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 5 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. R. 8086) prohibiting the shipment of filled milk.

Debated (S. J. Res. 12) authorizing the President to require the United States Sugar Equalization Board to take over and dispose of 13,902 tons of sugar imported from the Argentine Republic.

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 4.35 P. M.)

Representative Reavis (Rep.), Nebraska, announced that he would resign his seat in Congress to assist Attorney General Daugherty in the prosecution of war fraud cases.

Passed the bill (S. 745) giving dockworkers and repairmen working along shore benefits of State workmen's compensation laws.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 3.40 P. M.)

The contested election case of James L. Campbell (Rep.) against Representative Robert L. Doughton (Dem.) was considered.

Representative Johnson (Rep.), South Dakota, made an effort to call up his resolution for an investigation of alleged laxity in government prosecution of war fraud cases.

SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1922.

(Convened 12 o'clock noon, adjourned 1.45 P. M.)

Ordered, that Sunday, May 28, 1922, be set apart for addresses on the life, character, and public service of Hon. Henry Delaware Flood, late a Representative from the tenth district of the State of Virginia.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that an opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. Henry Delaware Flood, late a member of this House from the State of Virginia.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

MONDAY, MAY 29, 1922.

Not in session.

TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1922.

Not in session. (Memorial Day.)

Senate

Senator Watson (Dem.), of Georgia, declared the tariff powers to be vested in the President would "work a revolution in our system of government" by bringing together in the White House the legislative, judicial and executive branches of the government, which the founders had decreed should forever be separate.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.08 P. M.)

Senator Underwood declared that Republican Senators intended to accept the Tariff bill as reported to the Senate without further investigation, and that the only jury to which the Democrats could appeal is "the jury that must pay the taxes."

Devoted the day to discussion of rates of various color pigments which Democrats charged were too high and designed to swell the profits of American producers.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.10 P. M.)

Newspaper editorials commenting upon the Tariff bill were read into the Record by Senator Simmons, ranking Democratic member on the finance committee.

Senator McCumber, in charge of the bill, asserted with warmth that notwithstanding professions to the contrary, it was evident that time was consumed in this daily performance of Senator Simmons for the purposes of filibustering.

Senator Gooding, of Idaho, said that for the first time in history the pending Tariff bill protected the farmer as well as the manufacturer, and that the metropolitan newspapers were opposed to the Tariff bill as well as the international bankers because they would not permit adequate protection for the agriculturist if they could prevent it.

A protest against the duty of 25 per cent on bricks, enabling domestic manufacturers to control housing materials and charge unreasonable prices, was made by Senator Robinson (Dem.), of Arkansas.

Senator McCumber said the duty on bricks was designed to aid manufacturers along the Canadian border.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 4.40 P. M.)

Senator Caraway (Dem.), of Arkansas, read letters in the Senate in support of his charges against the Attorney General.

Senator Willis (Rep.), of Ohio, answered Senator Caraway, saying the approval of Attorney General Daugherty's conduct had been given by former President Taft and Attorney General Wickersham.

The day was consumed practically in a fight over the proposed rates of duty on cement.

MONDAY, MAY 22, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.20 P. M.)

Passed the bill (H. R. 7456) fixing a new basis of pay for officers and enlisted men of the army, navy, marine corps, coast guard, coast and geodetic survey and public health service.

Passed the bill (H. R. 10442) increasing the limit of indebtedness of the Philippines from \$30,000,000 to about \$72,000,000.

Postmaster appointments in Georgia started a lively exchange between Senator Watson (Dem.), Georgia, and Senator Phipps (Rep.), Colorado, who is chairman of a subcommittee on certain Georgia nominations that Senator Watson is fighting.

Senator Borah said in debate that had the Russian soviet representatives at Genoa accepted the allied proposals, Russia would have been reduced to a situation not dissimilar to that of Haiti.

Senate

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.25 P. M.)

Senator Smoot (Rep.), of Utah, during discussion of the tariff, arraigned retail druggists for what he described as "excessive and exorbitant charges" for medicines, and said an investigation of prices would disclose to the people the truth about who made the profits.

The effort of Senator Johnson, of California, to have the House rate on quicksilver substituted for the Senate rate was blocked.

Passed the bill (S. 3220) by Senator Harris, of Georgia, designed to aid farmers in obtaining credit through the broadening of the government warehouse act.

Discussed the Russian question.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 10.10 P. M.)

The earthenware schedule of the tariff bill was considered. The proposed duties on graphite caused a division in both the Republican and Democratic ranks but the committee report was accepted. Senator Caraway resumed his attack on the Attorney General.

Agreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2263) authorizing the President to name an additional member of the Federal Reserve Board who is to be representative of the agricultural interests.

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1922.

(Convened 11 A. M., adjourned 9.55 P. M.)

Both Republicans and Democrats opposed cloture as a means of shortening debate on the tariff bill. Republican leaders announced their purpose of continuing night sessions indefinitely.

Crockery and china items of the earthenware schedule of the tariff bill were discussed. Senator Jones of New Mexico opposing and Senator Frelinghuyzen of New Jersey, upholding the committee rates.

Senator Watson (Democrat), of Georgia, discussed the so-called Daugherty-Morse affair.

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1922.

The committee rates on steel products in the Tariff bill were sustained although they were bitterly attacked by both Republican and Democratic Senators.

Discussed the Morse case, Senator Caraway (Dem.), attacking Attorney General Daugherty.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1922.

(Convened 11 o'clock, adjourned 6.12 P. M.)

Senator Caraway (Dem.), Arkansas, continued his attack on Attorney General Daugherty.

Senator McCumber (Rep.), North Dakota, objected to the loss of time on the tariff bill caused by Senator Caraway's daily attacks on the Attorney General in connection with the Morse case.

The road legislation added by the House to the postoffice appropriation bill was voted against.

MONDAY, MAY 29, 1922.

(Convened 11 o'clock, adjourned 10.10 P. M.)

The Republican agricultural bloc, led by Senator Oddie (Rep.), of Nevada, won its fight to have cyanide restored to the free list. It was the first reverse for the finance committee majority since consideration of the tariff measure was begun six weeks ago.

Senator Watson (Dem.), of Georgia, and Senator Caraway (Dem.), of Arkansas, renewed the attack on Attorney General Daugherty.

TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1922.

Not in session. (Memorial Day.)

Public Health and Education Legislation

News Items

On May 1, 1922, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs made a favorable report on H. J. Res. 297 which authorizes and requests the President of the United States to call a conference of maritime nations of the world to adopt effective measures to prevent the dumping into the sea of oil waste, fuel, oil sludge, oil slop and other residue by oil-burning and oil-carrying ships.

On May 3, 1922, the Conference Committee of the Senate and House agreed to a provision in the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill, appropriating \$250,000 for a home and school for the feeble minded of the District of Columbia.

On May 4, the House passed a bill H. R. 2193 creating a Federal Narcotic Control Board consisting of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and Commerce, and prohibiting the importation and exportation of narcotic drugs except for medicinal purposes, as permitted by the Board. Referred in the Senate to the Committee on Finance.

A bill H. R. 11547 appropriating \$12,000,000 for additional hospital facilities for the United States Veterans Bureau, and authorizing the Director of the Bureau to incur additional obligations not exceeding \$5,000,000 for hospital purposes—passed the House on May 5, and passed the Senate May 6. This bill supplements H. R. 10864 authorizing an appropriation of \$17,000,000 for additional hospital facilities, which became a law April 20, 1922.

On May 6, the Senate passed H. R. 10941, a bill giving the Postmaster General power to issue special cancellation stamps for Postoffices. This will obviate the need for special action by Congress for cancellation stamps when health exposition are held in various cities. This bill passed the House on April 3, 1922.

On May 12, 1922, the Wadsworth-McKensie Bill, to readjust the pay of officers in the Army, Navy and Public Health Service, (H. R. 10972) passed the House under a special rule. An amendment to the bill made by Miss Alice Robertson (Okla.) was adopted which increased subsistence rates for nurses from 60c to \$1.20 a day; their rent money from \$40.00 to \$60.00 a month.

A Conference of State and Provincial Health Authorities of North America was held in Washington on May 15 and 16, and a joint meeting of the state health officers with the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health on May 17 and 18. Resolutions were passed at both conferences endorsing Federal aid to the States in public health activities.

New Public Health Bills

INTRODUCED DURING MAY

S. 3544, by Senator Jones of New Mexico. A bill to transfer Activities of Inter-Departmental Social Hygiene Board to Department of Justice.

H. R. 11490, by Representative Kahn of California. A bill to enlarge the powers and duties of the Department of Justice in relation to the repression of prostitution for the protection of the armed forces; referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

H. R. 11589, by Mr. Baldwin, Delegate from Hawaii. A bill to provide that the Secretary of the Treasury shall convey by deed to the territory of Hawaii the lands and buildings of the leprosy investigation station at Kalawac on the Island of Molokai and all the equipment that may be required for the use of the Public Health Service; referred to the Committee on Territories.

H. R. 11592, by Representative Gallivan of Massachusetts. A bill to appropriate \$5,000,000 for the acquiring of sites and the construction of rest camps in the various districts of the U. S. Veterans Bureau in order to benefit disabled ex-service men; referred to Committee on Buildings and Grounds.

S. 3576, by Senator Stanley of Kentucky. H. R. 11588, by Representative Kincheloe of Kentucky. These two bills introduced simultaneously in the Senate and House are identical in language and provide for the protection of the U. S. government in the acquisition of sites for federal hospitals and sanitaria by condemnation; referred to Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 11550, by Representative Morin of Pennsylvania. A bill to provide for the establishment of a separate department of physical training at the United States Military Academy at West Point with an instructor whose exclusive duties shall be to teach physical training to the cadets at the institution.

S. 3628, by Senator Calder of New York. A bill granting relief to Red Cross nurses who served with the Army and Navy of the United States in the war with Spain or the Philippine insurrection; referred to Committee on Pensions.

S. J. Res. 201, by Senator McNary of Oregon. A resolution requesting the President of the United States to propose an international conference for the suppression of the use of certain narcotic drugs; referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

H. R. 11707, by Representative Huddleston of Alabama. A bill to regulate interstate commerce in the products of child labor; referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

New Public Education Bills

INTRODUCED DURING MAY

S. 3607, by Senator Spencer of Missouri. A bill to define the availability of a deficiency appropriation for support of Indian schools; referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 11658, by Representative Free of California. A bill making it unlawful to require the attendance of children under the age of 14 years at any school, kindergarten, or academy in the District of Columbia before the hour of 9 o'clock A. M. standard time; referred to the District of Columbia.

By Mr. Perlman. Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 332) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States regarding the employment of children under 18 years of age; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The Glossary

By Hon. Wm. Tyler Page

Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United State Congress

An Explanation of Familiar Phrases Used in Congress

THE "FLOOR LEADER"

For a long time in the House the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was "floor leader" ex officio of the political majority, and the ranking minority member of that committee was the minority floor leader. This continued to be the practice as to the former until the 66th Congress (1919-1921) when, for the first time the majority floor leader was deliberately selected by party caucus, having been nominated by the Committee on Committees. From 1911, (62d Congress) until the 66th Congress, the practice of selecting a minority leader other than the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means obtained, but the latter custom was resumed when the present dominant party regained control of the House.

The designations "majority leader" and "minority leader," long used unofficially are now sanctioned by use of those terms in the law providing each with necessary clerical assistance.

The Senate floor leaders are selected by the respective party conferences.

These functionaries, ordinarily are given right of way by recognition from the Chair over other Members, direct the rendition of a prearranged program, act as spokesmen for their respective parties, and otherwise lead the members who have selected them to be their "leader." They must know the rules and practice and be ready to take advantage of technicalities and to avoid parliamentary pitfalls.

THE "BLOC"

This term is applied to any group of legislators whose united numerical strength is sufficient to insure the enactment of legislation of interest primarily to their communities, or to those engaged in certain pursuits, and to prevent legislation injurious thereto. The strength of such an alliance is that party lines are disregarded, the "bloc" consisting of democrats and republicans alike, in the aggregate representing positive and negative power of such proportions as to tip the legislative scales.

The "bloc" is something new in Congress. It comprehends a legislative program, offensive and defensive. It is not confined to a single measure such as a public building or a river and harbor bill, and should not, therefore, be confused with "log-rolling."

There have been groups in Congress in the past, but they have been political groups such as the "Greenbackers"—"Nationalists"—"Farmers' Alliance"—"Populists"—"Progressives," etc., with well defined political platforms covering a variety of subjects, as well as one dominant purpose or policy.

Perhaps the term "bloc," as now applied is borrowed from a foreign legislative body where political parties and groups are so numerous as to invite coalition in order to accomplish the purpose of any one of them; or it may have its derivation from the use in the House of "En bloc" as applied to a number of amendments to a bill voted upon together, not separately. When a bill is reported from the Committee of the Whole with sundry amendments it is customary to vote separately on a few of the amendments and on all of the remainder in gross—or "En bloc."

THE "PARTY WHIP"

A term or designation applied in a legislative body to a member who is selected in party conference or caucus as the recognized spokesman of the party to procure the attendance of members of his party when an important vote is to be taken and to keep the members of his party informed of the party program and to arrange pairs for his absent colleagues. Literally and actually it meant, when first applied twenty years ago, the whipping into line of stubborn and recalcitrant members of the party who evinced disinclination to support a party measure. The Whip's business was to sound out sentiment and report his findings to the leaders. If it appeared that certain members were reticent or openly opposed to a given proposition it was the duty of the whip to bring such members into line to support the proposition. He must be adroit and tactful and be acquainted with the men and their ambitions and desires, and when pacific methods failed he was supposed to apply the lash of the party whip. When this failed in any considerable number of instances, he would give a detailed account of the "line up" to the leaders and a binding caucus would follow. But now the chief function of the "Whip" is to summon absentees by wire and by printed "whip notices" simply urging their attendance at a certain time when a measure of importance is expected to be taken up and when the vote on it may be reached.

THE "UNFINISHED BUSINESS"

What is unfinished business in the House, to be resumed the succeeding day or subsequently, depends upon the nature of the business and upon other conditions. Certain business pending at adjournment is not the unfinished business the day or session next following, and may never recur.

In general the unfinished business which may come up on the next day is that on which the previous question has been ordered and, pending a vote the House adjourns, the exception being in case of a proposition unfinished on a Tuesday which goes over until Thursday, because Calendar Wednesday is religiously devoted to business on the House and Union Calendars and can be dispensed with only by unanimous consent or by a vote of two-thirds.

Business unfinished on "District of Columbia Day," the second and fourth Mondays, goes over until another of such days. Likewise, motions to suspend the rules, on which a second has been ordered, go over until such motions are again in order, namely, on the first and third Mondays.

Private bills considered on Friday, unless the previous question be ordered, in which case a bill would come up on the next legislative day.

A bill going over from one Calendar Wednesday to another under a call of committee, the committee calling up the bill being entitled to the floor on two Wednesdays.

Because the rule says of this class of unfinished business: ". . . all other unfinished business shall be resumed when the class of business to which it belongs shall be in order under the rules."

Business unfinished at the termination of a session (not daily) goes over until the succeeding session with its status undisturbed. But all business unfinished at adjournment sine die of a Congress falls, and must be presented de novo in the next or succeeding Congress.

An Explanation of Legislative Terms Appearing in This Number

A LEGISLATIVE MEASURE

of the superior class is designated "Bill," as distinguished from a Resolution. When a bill is finally enacted, it is then called "An Act." This also is true officially of a bill that has passed but one of the two Houses of Congress; but the term "bill" usually follows a measure throughout its legislative processes to final approval by the President, when it becomes "An Act" and is so designated in the compiled statutes. A House of Representatives bill is designated thus—H. R. 1, etc. A Senate bill, S. 1, etc.

PUBLIC BILLS

relate to public matters and deal with individuals only by classes. Bills relating to the revenue, to the tariff, to appropriations, to public lands, to the courts, etc., are classed as public bills.

A PRIVATE BILL

is a bill for the relief of one or several specified persons, corporations, institutions, etc. It has been the practice in Congress to consider as private such as are "for the interest of individuals, public companies or corporations, a parish, city, county, or other locality."

A BILL IS INTRODUCED

when it is presented to the Senate or the House of Representatives. The rules of the House require that the bill merely be dropped in a basket beside the desk of the Speaker while the House is in session. The rules of the Senate require that a Senator, when introducing a bill, arise and verbally announce his intention and the subject of the bill, after which a page boy takes the bill to the desk of the Vice President, who is presiding officer of the Senate.

A BILL IS REFERRED TO COMMITTEE

having jurisdiction of the subject matter. Reference is made in the case of public bills by the speaker and in the case of private bills by the clerk.

A BILL IS AMENDED

when it is changed in any particular, either in committee or while the bill is under discussion on the floor of either House. Committees may recommend amendments but the House must agree to them before they become a part of the bill.

A BILL IS PASSED

when either House finally votes to pass it. When passed by one House it is sent to the other.

A BILL IS ENACTED INTO LAW

when it shall have been approved by the President or allowed to become a law without his approval, not having been returned with his veto to the House in which it originated within ten days.

APPROPRIATION BILLS

known as general appropriation bills, twelve in number, appropriate revenue for the support of the Government. These bills have certain privileged status to insure prompt consideration.

A RESOLUTION

serves the purpose of one House or the other in matters of interest to the House in which it is employed. A House Resolution is designated thus—H. Res. 1, etc. A Senate Resolution is designated S. Res. 1, etc.

A JOINT RESOLUTION

is a development of modern practice which does not differ in any respect from a bill so far as the processes of Congress in its consideration are concerned. It must pass through the same travail to which a bill is subjected, except in the case of a joint resolution proposing to amend the Constitution, which does not require the approval of the President.

COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE

are necessary in order to expedite the work of Congress. There are sixty-two committees of the House and thirty-four in the Senate. The chairman and a majority of the members of a committee are always members of the party in control of the House of which the committee is a part.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

are opportunities offered proponents and opponents of a bill to furnish the committee with information and views concerning the necessity or effect of the bill it is considering. Sometimes, as is frequently the case with bills affecting the executive departments, committees hold secret hearings, but in most instances the hearings are public. Official stenographers make reports of these hearings which are afterwards printed for use of the committee.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

are recommendations made by committees to the House or Senate concerning the bill which has been referred to them. The rules of the House require that committee reports be made in writing. In the Senate Committees may report either verbally or in writing.

FLOOR OF THE HOUSE (OR SENATE)

means within the bar of that body where the actual business of consideration and voting takes place.

PARTY MEASURE

is one for which the Members of a political party are committed as distinguished from a measure supported by individuals of each party.

THE LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

is the printed list of bills in the order of their report from committee.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

is made up of leading members of the majority party, selected by the party Committee on Committees and ratified or confirmed in party conference. This Committee formulates the program of business and the order in which it shall be considered.

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